

working class, to force its will upon the working class, which was exploited in capitalist industry, under
4144 various conditions in capitalist society.

Therefore, his conclusion was that, in order to abolish the capitalist system, it was necessary, firstly, to abolish and destroy, completely, the capitalist state machinery—that is, the armed forces, the executive leaders, the Congress, and the President—all of those who made up the personnel and the other segments of the State, and that this theory of the State was the key to the theory of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, which would replace the capitalist state, and which would destroy the remnants of capitalist economy and establish socialism.

That is generally what I was taught as regards the State—both the capitalistic and the socialistic State.

4146 Q. During your attendance at the Lenin School, as a student, were you taught anything in connection with the form of Government existing in the United States?

4147 A. Yes, I was taught that the Government of the United States was no exception to the government of other capitalist states, and in fact, the theory expounded by what the communists termed as such renegades of communism, were completely unfounded—notably, the theory supposedly advanced by Jay Lovestone, and his group, that American capitalism was an exception and was stronger than other capitalist states, and thereby dealing with it would require different tactics.

Our instructor went on to quote from the text of Lenin, "The State And Revolution," wherein he states that British and American capitalism, particularly since the world war—World War I—have entered into—as well as Europe—the bloody days—I don't know whether that is the exact term used or not—the days of imperialism, and also have international imperial ambitions.

These are his words now, in essence, as I continue: that the government of the United States was the executive committee of the capitalist class within the United
 4148 States and was subject to the same laws of growth and development and decay as all capital states, and that the proletarian revolution dictatorship of the Proletariat was necessary, and equally as inevitable in the United States as in other capitalist countries, and that it would be our duty, as communists, to work for the overthrow of the Government of the United States and establishment of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, in the form of the Soviet, and under the hegemony of the Communist Party of the United States and the Comintern.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. And were the other students attending classes with you taught the same theory, concerning the Government of the United States? A. They were.

Q. Did you, in turn, teach the same theory in the United States, at the Detroit Workers School? A. I did.

Q. Mr. Nowell—

Mr. LaFollette: Excuse me a minute. Mr. Nowell, were these other students taught matters with reference to the states from which they came, or were they taught also an analysis of theories about the Government of the United States? I am not sure what you meant by your answer.

The Witness: Well, they were taught—

Mr. LaFollette: What I am trying to say is, if
 4149 there was someone from France or Brazil, would they be taught about the United States, or would they be taught about Brazil or France? What is your answer, or do you know?

The Witness: I do know that.

Mr. LaFollette: All right.

The Witness: They were taught the role of the State in general, and its inevitable decay, and the necessity for overthrowing it—that is the capitalist state—in all countries, and particularly their own governments. The subjects

were nationalized to particularly characterize the conditions existing in particular countries, so that students from France were taught particular political and economic situations in their own country, and the role of their state, as were the American, Canadian, and other students from various countries.

Mr. LaFollette: All right.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. On the occasion when you attended the Lenin School, in Moscow, what were you taught as to the line, the ultimate aim, of the Communist Party, concerning the capitalist and imperialist states?

The Witness: I was taught that the class struggle prevailed throughout the capitalistic world, and the contradiction, internal contradictions of these states were sharper. That their policies, internationally, as imperial powers, were becoming more pressing against the colonial people. Therefore, in the face of and in view of these objective conditions, political and economic conditions, that it would be the duty, and the necessary duty, of the Communist Party of the United States, as a part of world communism, to work for the overthrow of these imperial nations, and in the course of preparing the groundwork for that overthrow to cultivate the national revolutionary movements of the colonial countries, and to unite with the movement of the proletariat in their home countries for the complete abolition of imperialism and the capitalist state and the establishment of world socialism.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. And were you taught that that was the line and the ultimate aim of the Party in connection with the Government of the United States? A. I was so taught.

4151 Q. Were other American students taught the same theory as applied to the United States?

The Witness: Yes, they were, in my presence, taught the same theory and practice.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. Did you, as a teacher in the workers' school of Detroit, teach these same theories, aims and objectives of the Communist Party? A. I did.

4176 Q. Mr. Nowell, you stated in your last two answers that you were taught, at the Lenin School, in Moscow, that it was the ultimate aim of the Communist Party to bring about the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Were you taught how that overthrow was to be accomplished?

The Witness: Yes, I was.

4177 By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. How was it to be accomplished? A. It was to be accomplished by the revolutionary overthrow of the American Government, by force and violence.

Q. Was any specific period of time set for the overthrow of the Government of the United States? A. No, no specific time was set. The time was left to the high command, dependent on the maturity of the revolutionary situation.

Q. Mr. Nowell, in your studies, during your membership in the Communist Party of the United States, did you ever hear of the term "Partial demands" used in the writings and literature of the Communist Party? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is meant by the term "Partial demands?" A. "Partial demands" are demands dealing with limited

grievances on everyday problems, demands which conform to the framework of democracy and democratic procedure.

However, these demands, it was explained to us, are always subordinate to the object of the general strategy of the Communist International and the Communist Party.

Mr. LaFollette: By whom was it so held?

The Witness: In the Lenin School, and in our discussions in the conventions, bureaus, and various committees.

Mr. LaFollette: When you say "conventions, bu-
4178 reaus, and so forth, are you referring to the Communist International or the Communist Party of the United States?

The Witness: Yes, sir, I am referring to both.

Mr. LaFollette: You are referring to both?

The Witness: Both the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States.

Q. What were you taught, if anything, during your studies at the Lenin School, as to the connection between the partial demands, which you have just described and the ultimate objects and aims of the Communist Party?

4179 The Witness: I was taught in the Lenin School, and my whole experience as a Communist, was that the partial demands put forth by the Communist Party inextricably tied up with the ultimate objectives of the Party. That these demands served as tactical means of mobilizing for the more general and long-range objectives of the Party. U

To be specific, we studied the object of the general strategy, which is the final overthrow of the capitalist governments of the world through the proletarian revolution.

This general strategy breaks down into segments of tactical strategic periods. Therefore, we speak of the tactical line, covering a certain period of time.

Within this strategic period, there are segments of shorter periods of strategy. These strategic periods, and the strategy used, break down into tactics.

These tactics are the cutting edge of the more general strategy, as general strategy tactics, to give it a cutting edge.

Mr. Marcantonio: A cutting what?

The Witness: Cutting edge.

Therefore, I was taught and instructed, and I in turn taught and instructed, this relationship of tactics and strategy.

Correspondingly, the propagaganda and agitation department, the propaganda breaks down into agitation. Hence the partial demands of the Party are inseparable from and subordinate to, its ultimate objectives, the overthrow of the Government and establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Q. Mr. Nowell, were other students, American students, who attended school at the same time that you attended school in Moscow, taught the same thing? A. They were.

Q. And did you later teach the same thing in the Workers School at Detroit? A. I did.

4182 Q. Mr. Nowell, during your membership in the Communist Party, and while you were a student at the Lenin School in Moscow, were you taught anything in connection with just and unjust wars? A. Yes, I was.

Q. Will you tell us what you were taught? A. In accordance with Lenin's Thesis on War—I am not here now discussing the Thesis—

The Witness: I now refer to what we were taught, that a war on the part of a colonial country against its mother country, for liberation, was considered a just and justified war.

A war of the Soviet Union against a so-called imperialist adversary, is considered a just war on the part of the Soviet Union, no matter how that war may have originated, whether Soviet Russia was the aggressor or the other way around.

Therefore, it boiled down to this: and this is not my conclusion.

4183 It is the conclusion of my mentors and instructors: that at all costs, the Soviet Union must be preserved.

All contradictions prevailing, or existing, between the so-called capitalist powers, must be exploited. It must be the tactic and strategy of the Soviet Union to create and exploit such contradictions between the powers whom she conceives as potential enemies, or actual enemies.

Therefore, in the event of a war between two so-called imperialist powers, it would be our duty to so weaken—I say our duty, in the period of my membership—to so weaken those powers, including our own government, if it were participant, or one of its own allies, if it were a participant; that both would be destroyed in the war and the Soviet Union would be left a clear field of conquest.

Hence, any war against the Soviet Union, no matter who was the aggressor, is considered an unjust war, and the position of the Soviet Union is considered just, although it might be the aggressor.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. Mr. Noell, during your membership in the Communist Party, and while a student in Moscow at the Lenin School, what were you taught, if anything, as to the role of the American Communist Party in the event of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union? A. I

was taught that my first duty, as a Communist,
4184 would be to defend the Soviet Union.

More specifically, to carry on sabotage, to advocate and carry on strikes, to stop munition shipments, or stop the manufacture of munitions, to shut down industry through strikes, to carry on extensive anti-war propa-

ganda, and propaganda for the defeat of the Government of the United States.

Furthermore, it would also be my duty to persuade, by all means possible, the armed forces to lay down their arms and not to fight against the Red Army, and to welcome and support the Red Army in case of Red Army invasion.

We were taught that the Red Army is the Army of the American Workers, and in the event of such a war we should welcome them with open arms and support them with all the revolutionary means we were taught in the science of civil warfare, and with all the propaganda and agitation means we were taught, in theory and in practice.

Q. Were the other students who attended the Lenin School at the same time you attended, taught the same thing? A. They were.

Q. Mr. Nowell, did you in turn, after your return to the United States, teach the same thing at the Workers School in Detroit? A. I did.

Q. During your membership in the Communist Party, and while a student at the Lenin School in Moscow, what were you taught, if anything, as to the duty of the American Communist Party in the event of a war between a nation, which is an ally of the United States, and Russia?

4186 The Witness: In the case of a war between the Soviet Union and a nation allied of the United States, we were taught to do everything possible to defeat that ally of the United States, through the obstruction of shipment of arms, through propaganda campaigns against intervention, against the war, through collaboration between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of such an ally, for the defeat of that allied Communist Party's own government, that is the government of the country in which it was operating, and to defend the Soviet Union, under the slogan of convert this imperialist war of intervention into civil war with

in our own countries, for the defense of the Soviet Union, and for the ultimate victory of the revolution:

4199 Mr. LaFollette: Well as I understand, you said there was a change in tactics, beginning with the seventh world congress.

The Witness: That is correct.

Mr. LaFollette: And you testified that this arose out of the changed world situation. Proceed to say what the tactics were, and if you will, how you know why there was a change. I mean, who told you why there was a change, not your own construction.

4200 The Witness: My discussion on the basis of the resolutions and reports before the seventh world congress, and my instructions, in the carrying out of these directives, were that the defense of the Soviet Union was necessary against the threat of nazism and fascism; that because of this situation, it was necessary to reorient the Communist Party towards building mass movements, getting mass support for its policies.

Therefore, the People's Democratic Front, as an instrument in the hands of the Communist Party, was organized, or attempts were made to organize this People's Democratic Front, to secure the collaboration of the heretofore larger groups and organizations in support of that policy, and of governments who were inimical to nazism and fascism.

At the same time, we were directed, by the officers of the Party, nationally, to work, in the meantime, after the instruction and admonition of Dimitroff in his report to the seventh world congress, to strive to infiltrate these organizations and take them over, including the Government of the United States, and to direct its home and foreign policy to make it subservient to the objectives of the Soviet Union.

This Dimitroff characterized it as the Trojan Horse policy, which operated under the cover of the People's Democratic Front movement. This, I know, was taught and

in turn taught, was the reason for, and constituted the tactical reorientation beginning around 1935, and extending up to the time that the Soviet Union made a pact with Adolf Hitler.

4241 Q. Do you also remember mentioning Dimitroff's report in the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International? A. I do.

Q. Mr. Nowell, during your membership in the Communist Party, did you confer with any officials of the Communist Party concerning the text in the pamphlet entitled "Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International," including the closing speech of G. Dimitroff? A. Yes, I did confer.

4242 Q. And what was the nature of your conferences with officials of the Communist Party concerning the text? A. The first discussion was a meeting of functionaries at which the district organizer gave the report on the resolutions and decisions of the Seventh World Congress. Subsequently—

4243 Q. Do you remember the approximate time of your conferences concerning the text? A. That was the latter part of 1935.

Q. With whom did you converse? A. William Weinstone and other functionaries of the Michigan District of the Communist Party.

Q. Where did you have these conversations? A. In Detroit, Michigan.

Q. Now, will you give us the nature of your conferences with Mr. Weinstone and other officials concerning the tactical changes? A. I was instructed in line with the report, Weinstone's report to the functionaries and membership meeting and the resolutions to proceed to set up certain organizations in accordance with the People's Front policy.

In fact, preparatory to the Seventh World Congress we had begun, under instructions from the Central Committee and the District Organizer, to re-orient certain of the existing organizations, like the I. W. O., the language federations, or remnants of the same, to convert these into broader and ostensibly more democratic types of organizations, designed, as we were told, to enlarge the numbers of people that we had not reached up to that time.

This particular conference with Weinstone in the fall of 1935 had to do with reorganizing what had been known up to near that time as the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

I was instructed to take charge of a city-wide fraction taken from all units of the Communist Party in that district, in the Detroit area, and begin to infiltrate other organizations, churches, cultural groups, fraternal organizations and whatever organizations we could penetrate to lay the basis—

4246 Q. Mr. Nowell, tell us what you did when you infiltrated, so-called infiltrated or penetrated. Use other words than "infiltrate" and "penetrate."

Mr. LaFollette: State what you did.

The Witness: I was instructed to send Communist Party members into these organizations, to have them join them or to work within them and to secure people who would support the program that I was trying to carry out.

I was told to be careful of my method of work, so as not to expose the Party within these organizations, for fear of alienating people who we are trying to get to go along with us.

That is what I meant by infiltrating or whatever I want to call it. For lack of a better term, I simply said "infiltration."

4247 The Witness: In accordance with these instructions, I proceeded to send Communist Party members into various organizations for the purpose of securing delegates to a convention, to establish or set up the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress. From time to time in the course of this activity, in accordance with the instructions given, we held conferences as to the nature of our work relative to the instructions given, in line with the report of the District Organizer on the resolution and decisions of the Seventh World Congress.

In the year 1935, out of this effort, the National Organization of the National Negro Congress was established in Chicago, conforming to the new type of reorientation as set forth in the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress, executing or directing the Communist organizations to develop People's Front groups and to weld them into a national People's Front.

Also, I cooperated with the leaders of the Bulgarian and Macedonian organizations—

4248 The Witness: We, also, received an instruction—by "we," I mean the officers and members, or those active in any form of capacity, of leadership to reorganize the language federations, those under communist control—to conform to the instructions implicit in the resolutions and decisions of the Seventh World Congress.

The Bulgarian and Macedonian organizations were reorganized after a fashion and a People's League, a Macedonian People's League was set up, set up similar to the International Workers' Order. Various groups of the International Workers' Order were broadened and following out an earlier instruction of the I. W. O. and to work into the insurance organizations and get benefits as a base for People's Front operations, to include large numbers of people that the Party had not been in a position to reach before that time.

The Civil Rights League was reorganized into the Civil Rights Congress. I could go on to a number of organizations that we reoriented, who conformed to the tactical policies and tactical lines set down in the Thesis and 4249 Resolutions of the Seventh World Congress.

Q. Now, Mr. Nowell, were the memberships of these various organizations which you have mentioned one hundred per cent communist? A. They were not.

Q. Was there a group of communists in each organization? A. Yes, there was.

Q. What was the purpose, if you know, of this group of communists in each one of these organizations that you have mentioned?

The Witness: The purpose of these groups of communists, which we call fractions, Communist Party fractions, was to influence the policies of those organizations and to guide them along the lines of the Communist Party 4250 policy in setting up this People's Front movement.

I so instructed the fractions under my control and participated in the instruction of fractions in various organizations as to what they were to do in executing this policy.

Mr. LaFollette: What specifically did you tell them, just the fraction under your control?

The Witness: I told them to go, firstly, in two's and three's to these groups, participate in their meetings, take the floor and make suggestions as to the improvement of the workers of those organizations, to raise certain issues that affected the people in the community and suggest a means of solving those problems in the—one might do this in the Young People's League, in the Baptist Church, the Christian Endeavor League, the Baptist Young People's Union, the adult organization of the men's groups in the church, in the Elks, Odd Fellows, the Masons, or any other group

in which they could gain entrance or, if not, to take out membership in those organizations or if they had a friend who belonged, to cultivate him and get him to put proposals across, and in that way to gain an entree to begin to shape the policies of those groups, the policies of the Party and the establishment of this congress that I have mentioned previously.

4251 Q. What was the Communist Party of the United States doing at the time you left the Party in connection with the program of the People's Front organizations?

The Witness: Aside from and together with the work we were doing in various cultural and fraternal groups, we were then under the same instruction, carrying out 4252 the policy of infiltrating, that is, of getting into and getting control of various labor unions with the aim in view of controlling these groups. Notably, I was instructed in 1935, along with a group of people who had been or were then employed in the automobile industry, to work for communist control of our local unions and to gain hegemony in the C. I. O., the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It wasn't called the Congress then, but some time later it assumed the name of Congress of Industrial Organizations.

My recollection is that at that time it was called the Committee of Industrial Organizations. After the big strikes in 1936 in Detroit, of course, the Party counted on the C. I. O., without reflection on the C. I. O., itself, as a part of the People's Front movement to influence American home and foreign policy in conformity with the International People's Front movement outlined by Dimitroff in his speech at the Seventh World Congress and the subsequent resolutions, embodying his suggestions as a directive to the members of the Communist International.

4291 Q. Mr. Nowell, I show you Government Exhibit, which has been identified as Exhibit No. 142, which is entitled "Why Communist," by M. J. Olgin, and ask you whether or not during your membership in the Communist Party you have read a pamphlet of a similar title containing the same text? A. Yes, I have.

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4292 Q. Directing your attention, Mr. Nowell, to the inside fly leaf, where the various editions of this pamphlet appear, I ask you whether or not as manager of the book store you distributed and sold any pamphlets similar to this one in a prior printing or prior edition. A. I was going to explain—this is in answer to your question—that during the time that I was manager of the book store in 1930 this pamphlet had not appeared, however, in 1933, when the first edition appeared I was also on the board of the book store as director of education. In that capacity I participated in the supervision of the distribution of literature. Therefore, in 1933 I did supervise the distribution of this pamphlet.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. Mr. Nowell, ~~as a teacher~~ at the Communist
4293 Workers School in Detroit did you use this pamphlet to teach classes? A. Yes, I did.

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4326 By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. Mr. Nowell, I show you Government's exhibit which has been identified as No. 145, a pamphlet entitled "The Communist Party—a Manual on Organization," by J. Peters, and I ask you whether or not during your membership in the Communist Party you saw and used that pamphlet? A. Yes, I did use this pamphlet. I read it and used it in my classes on Party organization in the Workers School.

Q. Did you use it while you were teaching at the Workers School in Detroit, Michigan? A. I did.

4327 Q. Do you know whether or not that pamphlet was sold by the Communist Party book store in Detroit? A. We kept it stored in the book store. This is not a pamphlet for sale to the general public. It is an internal Party document that was sold to Party functionaries, Party leaders, for their guidance on organization problems.

Q. Were you told by any official of the Communist Party what use was to be made of this pamphlet? A. Yes, I was.

Q. Who told you? A. William Weinstone, also John Smeds.

Q. What were you told as to the use that was to be made of this pamphlet? A. I was instructed to distribute, to urge the Party functionaries to read this pamphlet as a guide to Party organization because it relates the Party theory, its program and organization comprehensively and, therefore, was considered during the period of my membership one of the best documents thus far issued on Party organization.

Q. During your membership in the Communist Party, was this manual ever repudiated? A. No, it was not.

Q. Did you ever meet the author of that pamphlet? A. Yes, I did meet him.

4328 Q. Where did you meet him? A. I met him in Moscow, Russia.

Q. If you know, what was he doing in Moscow, Russia? A. He was representative from the American Communist Party to the Communist International.

Q. Mr. Nowell, did you know J. Peters by any other name? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What other name or names? A. I knew him by the name of Alexander Stevens, William Peters, and Clarence Miller.

4341 Q. You left the Party when? A. At the end of 1936.

Q. And during the year of 1936, did you have the occasion to use this pamphlet? A. Yes, I did.

Q. How widely was it distributed in 1936, if you know?

A. In 1936—it was largely limited in 1936 to the top Party functionary, section organizer, section district members, district bureau members, district committee members and fraction secretaries and fraction leaders of the Communist Party.

4722

Paul Crouch

was called as a witness on behalf of Petitioner and having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

Direct Examination:

4742 Q. You also mentioned visiting the Soviet Union.

What was the date that you arrived at the Soviet Union? A. Around Christmas of 1927, to the best of my recollection.

Q. How did you happen to visit the Soviet Union? A. Well, first of all, I had received an invitation from the Society of Cultural Relations, a branch of the Soviet Government, to make a visit to the Soviet Union as a guest of the Government during the fall of 1927, but my primary —the primary factor in my visit was the instructions

4743 received by a Comintern—that is a Communist International representative, named Nassonov, that I should go to the Soviet Union—

4744 Q. What duties were you to perform, if any, while you were in the Soviet Union? A. I was to attend

meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Young Communists International, a World Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions, to be held in March of 1928 and I was to meet with the General Staff, with the General Staff officers of the

4745 Red Army, for the purpose of formulating a program of work inside of the United States Army, obtaining answers to questions Nassanov was unable to give.

Q. What was your primary position, if any, in the American Party at the time? A. My primary position was head of the Communists Party Department for Work in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Mr. LaFollette: Excuse me, Mr. McKittrick. I want to know what time this was.

The Witness: This was from October, about the first of October, 1927, until 1930, during which time I headed the Communist Party's Department for Work in the Armed Forces.

Mr. LaFollette: Thank you very much. Go ahead, Mr. McKittrick. I am sorry to interrupt you.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Who was the head of the Secretariat that you mentioned as having some part in deciding you should go?

A. The head of the Secretariat was William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Party.

Q. Is that the same William Z. Foster now head of the Communist Party? A. It is.

Q. How was your passage to the Soviet Union arranged?

A. My passage was arranged by AMTORG, a branch
4746 of the Soviet Government with offices in New York, which arranged for me to sail without charge aboard an Italian freighter, chartered by the Soviet Government, sailing in December of 1927 from New York City to the Port of Novorossisk, I believe, on the Black Sea. I am not sure of the spelling.

4747 Q. Let me reframe the question. From what source did you obtain your travelling expenses for this trip? A. From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

Q. How were your living expenses defrayed while you were in the Soviet Union? A. Primarily by the fact that I was on the pay roll of the Communist International at 110 rubles per month from the time of my arrival until

departure, plus hotel expenses and, also, by the fact that I was a guest of the Soviet Government and of the Communist Party in the various cities I visited.

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4762 Q. Mr. Crouch, while you were in Moscow, where were you paid? A. I was paid at the disburser's office in the Communist International Building.

Q. How often were you paid? A. Twice a month.

Q. Did you ever observe anyone else receiving pay at the times you received your pay? A. I observed others, yes.

Q. Where did you live while you were in Moscow? A. I lived at the Hotel Lux on Tvirskaya Avenue, 4763 Moscow.

Q. Did any other American Communists live at the Hotel Lux, to your knowledge? A. Yes.

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Q. Would you name some of the other American Communists living there? A. The other American Communists living there during the time I was there, throughout that time, were Sam Darcy and J. Louis Engdahl and part of the time Harrison George and Earl Browder.

Q. Did you pay any money for the occupancy of your quarters in the Hotel Lux? A. No, I did not.

Q. Now you have told us the purpose of your 4764 visit to the Soviet Union. What, if anything, did you do after you arrived at Moscow, in connection with your assigned purpose in going to the Soviet Union? A. Oh, I did many things, the first of which was to meet with the General Staff officers of the Red Army at a meeting held in the Hotel Lux in the room of Mr. Nassanov, give a report on the American situation insofar as work in the Armed Forces was concerned, present our rough, tentative draft of work, present our questions and I received answers to those questions and detailed directives from the Red Army and General Staff officers.

Q. Who was present at that meeting besides yourself?
 A. Mr. Nassanov, Marshall Tukhachevsky, two other General Staff officers whose names I cannot now recall and a Red Army officer translator.

Q. Did anything result from this meeting? A. Yes.

Q. Well, what happened at this meeting? A. First of all, I gave a general report on our plans of work in the United States for sending Communists into the Armed Forces. I asked them many questions Nassanov had been unable to answer in the United States, such as how many should we send into the Army in relative numbers, what are the tasks when they go in and how are they to operate, should we send small numbers or large numbers into 4765 the National Guard, the ROTC, the CMTC and other military organizations, whether we should give military training in schools operated by the Communist Party and the Young Communists League in the United States, that we could arrange to send leaders of the Communist Party to Moscow to receive military training through the Red Army, whether I should receive such training in the Soviet Union to prepare me better for my responsibilities in the United States, what slogans we should raise and agitation in the Armed Forces of the country, and so on, and I received the answers to these questions and directions on our work, the major one being that we should send a small, carefully selected group into the United States Army and Navy and they should be sent in on a concentration basis, not to scatter our energies, that the number one concentration should be Panama because of the vital importance of Panama to the national security of the United States in time of war, because that with an organization in the Army, coordinated with the civilians there, they would be able to cripple American transportation through the Canal.

The second point of concentration was to be Hawaii and next to that the ports around New York and San Francisco, that we were to send some of our numbers into the Navy,

that these people were to work very carefully and cautiously, the first consideration must be to serve their enlistment without being detected by military intelligence, that the most conspiratorial precautions must 4766 suffrond all of their work, and, as regarding the National Guard, that we should send in large numbers who were to work less secretly, who were to work to try to disrupt discipline in the National Guard and make it unfit for fighting operations, that we should not give advance military training in the schools operated by the Communist Party, that it would be foolish, that we should realize it would be foolish to go to the expense of giving military training to our Communist leaders when we could obtain this at the expense of the American Government, and, therefore, that through entrance into the ROTC, Reserve Officers Training Corps, and in the National Guard and other military organizations, our members could receive much better and more efficient military training than elsewhere.

My plan, for work, for a program of draft demands in the Army was approved but with a qualification and a caution that our demand for a union of soldiers, sailors and marines was to be an agitational slogan without any expectation that it could ever be realized. The plan also directed us to include in our working armed forces the munition factories and the Navy yards, to send members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League into those places to obtain employment.

We were directed that in the Navy Yards they were to form joint units of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, to belong to the same units, to 4767 work together, coordinate this work. We were also directed to utilize, to establish squads of girls in our anti-military apparatus, as it was called, to have these girls trained for distribution of leaflets, for carrying on correspondence with service men, for making contacts with them to bring them to dances and parties, so that they

could be recruited into the Communist movement. Also, I was informed that the American students of the Lenin School were already receiving military instruction, but was promised that the military instruction given them by Red Army officers would be materially increased in the future and that they would consider in the General Staff the matter of bringing a few selected American Communist leaders to Moscow for training at the Frunze Military Academy, which corresponds to West Point, the West Point of the Soviet Union.

Also, they said I should return to the United States, that it was too important for me to get this work started in the United States, and we did not get time off to go to a military academy at that time in the Soviet Union, and that this matter would be considered further at a later date, that regarding the political questions and the political formulation, that these should be worked out in the Communist International and Young Communists International Executive meetings which were to follow immediately in Moscow, to which these political questions and formulations were referred. It was also decided while in the Soviet

Union, I was to visit the Red Army Headquarters 4768 in the Frunze Academy for the purpose of studying the material available for me in the languages I could then read, English and French, regarding means of civil war, guerilla tactics, sabotage, and so forth, and that I should give lectures at the Russian Military Academy.

4772 Q. Mr. Crouch, in connection with the documents
you stated were to be placed at your disposal, did
4773 you, in fact, study those documents? A. I did.

Q. And where did you study them? A. At the
Red Army Headquarters in Moscow and some in the
Frunze Academy.

4787 Q. Yesterday we were talking about your trip to the Soviet Union. While you were in the Soviet Union, did you have anything to do with any organization dealing with labor unions? A. Yes.

Q. What organization did you have such contact with? A. With the World Congress of the Red International Labor Unions.

Q. That organization, was it ever known by any initials? A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall the initials that were used in connection with it? A. R.I.L.U.

4788 Q. What was the function of that organization, if you know? A. The function of that organization was to operate throughout the world for the purpose of building new unions under Communist control, so that labor could be used for the revolutionary objectives of World Communism and for the purpose of capturing control of existing non-Communist unions.

Q. Was there any relationship between the R.I.L.U. and the Comintern, if you know? A. Yes.

Q. What was that relationship? A. The R.I.L.U. operated directly under the supervision and control of the Comintern.

Q. At the Congress you stated you attended, were any decisions reached by the R.I.L.U. directly affecting the activities of the Communist Party of the United States? A. Yes.

4789 Q. Will you state those decisions, if you know?

A. The decisions were in the—the decisions that I recall were in the form of verbal motions made and passed at meetings I attended.

Q. What was the subject matter of those decisions? A. One of the decisions was to set up a commission in the meeting, in the Congress, composed of George Mink, James

S. Allen and myself to work with Evangelista and Manahan, representatives from the Philippine Islands, for the purpose of formation of a Communist Party in the Philippines.

A second decision that affected the United States was in connection with maritime work, a decision that they work in the United States and other major countries and the maritime industry should be financially subsidized from Moscow, that far more attention must be given to this work by the American and other Parties, and that an international bureau would be a special subdivision of the R.I.L.U. and, operating under the supervision of the Comintern, would be specifically in charge of this work.

Q. Did any American Communists attend this 4790 Congress besides yourself? A. Yes.

Q. Will you name those Communist Party members whom you now recall? A. Present in the Maritime Commission were, I recall, George Mink, James S. Allen and myself. Present at the entire Congress were, in addition, Benjamin Gitlow, Joseph Zack, and about a dozen or more other Americans that I cannot now recall.

Q. In connection with the plans you have stated were made for working the maritime unions, was any action taken, to your knowledge, upon your return to the United States to carry out those plans? A. Yes.

Q. What action was taken? A. Seamen's clubs along the lines planned in Moscow were set up in Norfolk, Virginia, New York City, San Francisco, port cities, in fact practically all major American ports; a paper called "The Marine Workers' Voice" was published as the organ of the Marine Workers Union, which was the American part of the Seamen's Division of the Red International Labor Unions, and far more attention was given to this and a member of the Maritime Commission, Roy Hudson, was made a member of the Politburo shortly thereafter.

Mr. LaFollette: May I ask: That was the Polit-
4791 buro, the American Politburo?

The Witness: Yes.

I should say further, in the interim, before Roy Hudson, another member of this Maritime Commission, John Harvey, was placed on the Politburo and then Roy Hudson became a member of the Politburo also of this Maritime Division.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you have any personal connection with this work in the Maritime Unions? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Would you state the nature of your personal connection? A. My personal connection during 1928 and 1929 was in correlation with my work as head of the Department for work in the Armed Forces, since there was a close similar connection, and in connection with my work as National Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League. Since the Anti-Imperialist League—

4792 The Witness: I took part in discussions with George Mink and other members of the Maritime Commission in connection with my work as National Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League during the period I was National Secretary, and then in 1932 or early 1933 I was at Norfolk, Virginia, the organizer of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, in addition to my duties as Party organizer and the head of the International Seamen's Club, in charge of the National Seamen's Club, which was listed, which had its office or headquarters in the front room of my residence at 425 Bank Street, and the address of my home, the address of the Communist Party, the address of the Marine Workers Union, and the address of the International Seamen's Club all was 425 Bank Street, Norfolk, Virginia.

Q. Who was the national head of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, if you know? A. George Mink.

Q. Did George Mink do anything, to your knowledge, while he was in the Soviet Union, which was designed
4793 to qualify him to fill that position? A. Yes.

Q. What did he do? A. He did two things: First, he became a part of the Soviet Secret Police:

The Witness: I was relating of my own personal knowledge that he was—because he told me and showed me his Gaypayyou credentials. This was a matter of my own personal knowledge. Secondly—

The Witness: Secondly, Mink made a trip to the Black Sea ports of Odessa, Sevastopol and Novorossisk to study the International Seamen's Clubs, used as a model for organizing International Seamen's Clubs in the United States.

4794 Mr. LaFollette: How do you know that?

The Witness: I know this from Mink showing me the funds he had received for this purpose, his advising me of this and showing me his railroad tickets, his leaving Moscow for these ports, and his reports made at the Maritime Commission on his return.

Q. What was the objective of the R.F.L.U. in carrying on Communist activities in the maritime industry, if you know?

4796 The Witness: I can only state the objectives outlined in the reports at the Commission I attended in Moscow, of my own knowledge, which were that the major objectives be to build a maritime organization throughout the world, that during war between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, we would be able to paralyze shipping, prevent transportation of soldiers and war supplies and, also, that would enable the Communist movement

to have an unlimited courier service throughout the world at its disposal.

4798 Q. What was the objective of the Congress in setting about to form seamen's clubs, if you know?

The Witness: The objective stated in the Convention was to use the seamen's clubs to build recreational centers, which would attract seamen into the Unions, under Communist control and then into the Communist movement. In other words, as recruiting centers.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. How were the seamen's clubs financed, if you know?

A. I only know—

4799 The Witness: My only knowledge on that is that it was the decision regarding the subsidies on all of this maritime work and the statements made to me by George Mink after our return to the United States and, of course, I know about the local seamen's clubs in Norfolk, Virginia, which I personally directed.

Mr. LaFollette: All right. Speaking of the seamen's clubs in the United States now, how was your club in Norfolk financed?

The Witness: Our club in Norfolk, Virginia, operated on a small budget, financed mostly out of the local Party budget; the bulk of which was contributed by the International Workers Order and some subsidies were sent from George Mink, out of New York, to a Mr. B. K. Lacka, who, for a time, was doing full time work for the seamen's club and the marine workers industrial union and he received checks from the Marine Workers Industrial Union in New York City.

Q. Returning to your activities while you were in the Soviet Union, in connection with your service on this 4800 commission of the Communist International, having as its primary duty the drafting of a resolution to be submitted at the forthcoming Sixth World Congress, did that commission, in fact, perform its assigned duty?

A. Yes.

Q. And did you actively participate in the performance of that duty? A. I did.

Q. Would you state what contributions, if any, you actually made toward the carrying out of those duties. A. I participated for the period of at least two months in work on this resolution on a commission of five members, of whom I was one, and with a Mr. Barbe of France as the chairman of the Commission.

Q. In connection with the drafting of the resolution, did any other groups or persons have anything to do with the drafting of the resolution, apart from the members of the commission, itself? A. Yes.

Q. What other persons or groups had some part in that activity? A. Officials of the Communist International, Mr. Bukharin, and others from time to time called the members of the Commission in for consultation and I was called for consultation on the drafting of this resolution by the 4801 head of the military department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Communist Party headquarters where I met with him and with several Red Army General Staff officers, other Russian Communist Party leaders and at this meeting my escort and my translator was Mr. Khitarov, a leader of the Russian Communist Party and about a year later, president of the Young Communist International.

Q. What happened at the time of your meeting with the officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? A. I gave them a complete resume of our work to that date and the general outline and they reviewed this, approved it in general and made various detailed suggestions, recommendations for changes.

Q. Did you do anything with these recommendations for changes, after you received them? A. I did.

Q. What did you do with them? A. I gave a report on them at the next meeting of our commission.

Q. What actions, if any, were taken by the commission? A. The Commission proceeded to make all necessary provisions to incorporate all the recommendations from the Russian Communist Party.

4802 Q. I show you Petitioner's exhibit marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit 148, and ask you if you have ever seen that volume before? A. May I have a few minutes to examine it, to be sure that it is the same volume?

Q. Yes. While you are examining it I will complete the description. This volume purports to be the struggle against Imperialist war and the tasks of the Communists, the resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, July, August, 1928, purportedly published by the Workers Library Publishers, Second Edition, July, 1934. A. What was the question?

Q. Have you ever seen this volume before? A. Yes.

Q. Is this the same resolution prepared by the
4803 Commission on which you served? A. It is.

Q. Did you contribute any of the language contained in this volume? A. I contributed materially to the language in this volume, its formulation and contents.

Q. What distribution was made of this volume, if you know? A. Almost immediately after the Sixth World Congress ratified it, in August, I believe, of 1928, this was published in an international Communist English language journal, called Inprecorr, International Press Correspondents, and it was widely distributed throughout the Communist Party, a mimeographed edition was distributed following that throughout the Party and Young Communists League in this country and then it was published in various editions in large numbers, made available

through the Party's book stores, sold through the Party organizations, used in the Party schools.

Q. Did you, yourself, ever use this volume in the Party schools? A. Yes, in many.

4806 Q. I believe you told us that you returned from the Soviet Union sometime in April of 1928, is that correct? A. I left the Soviet Union in April but it was sometime in May when I returned to New York City aboard the Ile de France, to check the exact date.

4807 Q. Upon your return, did you report to anyone concerning your trip to the Soviet Union? A. I did.

Q. And to whom did you report? A. I reported to William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Party, to the National officers of the Young Communist League, and to the commission I headed, the joint commission of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

Q. Did you take any steps to carry out any instructions that you received from the Soviet League about which you have told us? A. Yes.

Q. Now what steps did you take? A. I set up joint departments in the Communist Party and in the Young Communist League in all of the 13 districts in which the Communist Party and Young Communist League were then divided.

Mr. LaFollette: May I interrupt? What year is this now?

The Witness: I am referring to 1928, on my return from the Soviet Union during late May, June and thereafter.

Mr. LaFollette: All right. Do I understand it that your testimony is what you did immediately after your return?

The Witness: Yes. Immediately after, I toured much of the country, met with the district organizers of
4808 the Communist Party and Young Communist League and pointed out to them the decisions made at Moscow, gave them the directions regarding the infiltration of the Armed Forces and then I proceeded to select, make

a selection of individuals who were going into the Armed Forces. The first man was, by the name of Taylor, from the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, who was approved to go into the Army and in accordance with the orders that I received from the Red Army General Staff, was assigned to join the Army for service in Panama. Others followed under my instructions, first to Panama, several to Panama and then we sent some to Hawaii and others to the Army ports around New York and San Francisco.

At the same time I was giving considerable attention to the National Guard. I instructed the directors in each of the districts to send large numbers of young Communists into the National Guard and after those people joined the National Guard I met with many of them and, for example, at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, I met with officers of the Communist Party, the Young Communists League and the Communists who had joined the National Guard for the purpose of revolutionary work within, and set up the first paper ever published by the Communist Movement of the Armed Forces of the United States called the "Fort Snelling Rapid Fire" and with a motto on the front page, "Learn whom to fight while learning how to fight." I followed this paper up with a publication in Washington, D. C. called the "Red Cadet" published in cooperation with the Young Communists who had joined under my instructions the Reserve Officers Training Corps in Washington. I set up a monthly paper called the "Red Guardsman," in the state of Pennsylvania, in cooperation with the Communist Party, Young Communist League, and the Communists who had joined the National Guard there.

For the state of New York we set up a monthly paper called the "Rebel Guard" as the official organ of the Communist Movement inside the National Guard of New York. Within the first year I had sent into the National Guard approximately 200 Communists for the purpose of working within the organization, a large number—I do not

recall the exact number—into the Reserve Officer Training Corps, others in the citizens military training camps and I met with them and directed their activities.

I also had printed stickers for propaganda against the Government and the Armed Forces and I set a specific date, I don't recall the exact date, it can be approximately ascertained from copies of my instructions that are in Congressional records. I sent out a letter throughout the country stating that by a certain date we are going to distribute these stickers.

4817 Q. Mr. Crouch, did your commission in the performance of its task have any special status in the Party? A. Yes.

Q. What was its status? A. Its status was that of special authority not granted to any other commission, such as the right to select people in the Party, the Young Communists League, order them to go into the armed forces, the right to go over the heads of District organizers in selecting personnel from the district for this work and take them away from other fields of work in which they might be engaged.

Q. You mentioned briefly some of your activities in connection with the placing of sailors aboard the U. S. ship Oklahoma. Would you elaborate on your activities in connection with the USS Oklahoma? A. The sailors aboard the USS Oklahoma were given instructions to be very conspiratorial in their work. They were given the names of Party girls to whom they were to write regularly and who would give me information on the location of the ship, when they expected to be in port, what port and things of that kind. They were given names of other girls to whom they were to send unsigned reports on the work aboard the ship and when the ship arrived in port Communists in those cities were assigned to go aboard that ship,

4818 leave stickers wherever possible, scatter Communist propaganda leaflets we had prepared for the occa-

sion and girls were instructed to try to make contacts with sailors aboard that ship and to invite them to parties that were arranged by the Communist Party for the purpose of drawing them closer to the Party and eventually recruiting them into the Communist Movement.

Q. Was there any general policy respecting the place of service for recruits in the Army and in the Navy during the period you are now describing? A. Will you please repeat the question?

Q. Was there any general policy with respect to the placing of recruits for the Army and Navy during this period of time that you are now discussing? A. Yes.

Q. What was that policy? A. The policy was that Panama was a major point of concentration.

Q. Excuse me, Mr. Crouch. I don't believe you understood the question. The question was, did the Army and the Navy have a policy respecting the place of service for these recruits? A. The Army did. The Navy did not.

Q. What was the Army's policy? A. The Army's policy at that time was to allow recruits to select the 4819 branch of service and the location in which they wished to serve, whether in Hawaii, Alaska, Philippines, Panama or on the mainland and, in general, if they were to serve on the mainland, they allowed them considerable voice in selecting the post where they wished to serve.

Q. Did this Army policy have any effect on your activities in placing Communists in the United States Army? A. Yes.

Q. What effect did it have? A. It greatly facilitated our concentration policy of sending Communists to Panama, Hawaii, and the posts around New York and San Francisco.

Q. Would you describe in some detail the manner in which you brought about the enlistment of Communists in the United States Army? Excuse me. I will withdraw the question. Would you describe in some detail the manner

in which you carried on your Communist activities in the United States Army? A. First of all, the first step was meeting with the Anti-Militarist directors in each of the districts who were primarily responsible for the selection of people who were to go in the armed forces from their respective districts, describing the qualifications, that they must select people who had never been fingerprinted in connection with Communist activities, because if they did not do so the military intelligence as a matter of 4820 routine would almost certainly identify them. We were to select preferably people who had never been connected publicly, whose names had not appeared in the press in connection with Communist activity and if it were necessary, to select anyone whose names had so appeared, that they were to go into the Army under an assumed name and not their correct name, that the people selected for the Army must be people of political reliability, great intelligence, flexibility and able to carry out a very difficult and dangerous assignment.

The next point in these instructions was regarding the channels of communication ~~that they were to establish~~ with the Commission headed by me. Steps also were taken in some cases, as the case of Panama, to have contacts made with the civilian Communist Party to obtain names of people who would be contacted by the servicemen there and to whom they would have reports sent and who would distribute leaflets to the armed forces.

4821 Q. What was your method of operation in the National Guard during this same period? A. In the National Guard we took far less precautions about individuals, and in many cases the Communists who were in the National Guard virtually participated in putting up stickers, distributing leaflets to other members, and the instructions were that while they were not to unduly necessarily expose themselves, nevertheless, they were not to neglect any opportunity to exploit local grievances, create disturbances in the National Guard, and try to break down discipline and military efficiency as far as possible.

Q. You mentioned the procurement of employment for Communists in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. What was the extent of Communist activity at that place, if you know?

A. The Communist activities during the 1928 and 1929 period was a very careful foundation work and it was not until later, after Walter Trumball succeeded me—

4822 The Witness: After Walter Trumball succeeded me as the head of the joint commission in 1930, I remained a consultant for the commission, working with Walter Trumball and his successor, Emanuel Levine, in this work.

In connection with my work as a consultant with Walter Trumball and Emanuel Levine, I participated in meetings around 1934, as nearly as I can recall, with the people in the joint unit of the Communist Party and Young Communist League at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and aided them in the plans for a monthly paper, in editing several issues of a monthly paper which
4823 was published in the name of the joint unit of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q: I believe you stated, that you stated that you attended several national conventions of the Communist Party. Will you give the dates of the national conventions and the places where they were held, conventions, that is, that you recall now having attended? A. Conventions I recall having attended of the Communist Party were 1929 in New York City, in March, 1929, in New York City, over a period of some ten or eleven days, I don't recall the exact days or months; in early April of 1934 in Cleveland, Ohio; in the latter part of June, 1936 in New York City, part of those conventions being at the Manhattan Opera House.

In May, about the end of May, 1938, I recall the Hotel Center being connected with some of the sessions, I believe, of the '38 convention, a convention in the summer

of 1940—I don't recall the exact date—and a special convention in November of 1940 and in addition I have participated in nominating conventions of the Communist Party in the fall of 1928 and 1932, both in New York City, and another nominating convention, I don't recall the exact date at this moment.

Q. Can you give the places of the conventions that you have named attended in 1938 and summer of 1940
4824 and November of 1940? A. Those conventions were all in New York City.

Q. Did the Communist Party have any delegation
4837 to the Young Communist League convention? A. It did.

Q. And who was that person? A. Robert Minor.

Q. Did you learn from Robert Minor the person he favored as National Secretary at this convention? A. I did.

Q. And who was that? A. He favored me as the National Secretary.

Q. In your discussions with the delegates prior to the convention concerning the selection of the National Secretary, did any of them express their views concerning who should be National Secretary? A. Yes.

Q. And what person did they indicate that they favored?
A. They indicated that they favored me, and stated so.

Q. Did you attend any meetings of the Presidium or the presiding committee of this convention? A. Yes, I was a member of the presiding committee of the convention.

Q. Did William Rust attend any of those meet-
4838 ings? A. He did. He attended all.

Q. And was it there that William Rust gave the instructions that you just told us about? A. Not there, later.

Q. Did Robert Minor attend any meetings of the Presidium? A. Yes.

Q. And did he express any views concerning the selection of a National Secretary at those meetings? A. Yes.

Q. What views did Robert Minor express? A. Robert Minor expressed the view that the convention should proceed to elect the National Secretary in the usual procedure and that I should be recommended as the National Secretary.

Q. Did William Rust ever outline any procedure for the selection, the mechanical selection of the National Secretary at that convention? A. Yes.

Q. What procedure did he outline? A. He outlined a procedure that instead of the convention electing the Secretary, that he gave orders that the convention must only elect a National Committee, the National Committee would elect the Bureau, and the Bureau was to elect the National Secretary.

Q. Was any action taken as a result of those 4839 orders that were given? A. Yes.

Q. What action, if any, did the convention take? A. They complied with the orders.

Q. Did the Bureau have any meetings prior to the selection of its National Secretary, the Bureau? A. I don't understand the question.

Q. You said the convention complied with the orders? A. Yes.

Q. You mean by that that they selected a committee? A. They selected a National Committee, and the National Committee, in turn, selected a small committee from among its members called the Bureau.

Q. All right. Upon its selection, did the Bureau have a meeting? A. It did.

Q. Did Rust attend that meeting? A. Yes.

Q. Did he have anything to say at that meeting? A. Yes.

Q. What did he say? A. He said the decision of the Communist International and Young Communist International was that John Harvey must be the National Secretary of the Young Communist League, that I could be

4840 elected to any position in the Young Communist League, except that of National Secretary, but that Harvey must be the National Secretary.

Q. I believe you have already told us that you did acquire those positions; is that correct? That you did acquire some other positions? A. I acquired other and additional positions, yes.

Q. Yes. Did Rust give any other orders to this convention, respecting the selection of the officials of the Young Communist League? A. Yes.

Q. What other orders did he give? A. That George Pershing must be made District Organizer of the New York District.

Q. What action, if any, did the Young Communist League take after receiving that order? A. It accepted the orders from Moscow and proceeded accordingly.

4847 Q. You stated that you attended a special convention of the Communist Party in New York City in November of 1940. In what capacity did you attend that convention? A. I attended that convention in two capacities, as a district organizer of the Communist Party for the District of Tennessee and as a regular delegate to that convention.

Q. Did you attend any meetings held during the time of that convention, other than the meetings of the convention as a whole? A. Yes.

Q. And what meetings did you attend? A. Meetings of the district organizers with the Politburo.

Q. What was the purpose of that convention, if you know? A. The purpose of that convention was to vote a formal disaffiliation with the Communist International.

4848 Q. At the meetings you attended, which you say were attended, also, by the district organizers and by the Politburo, was the head of the Party at that time

present at any of those meetings? A. The General Secretary of the Party was present, if that is what you mean by "the head."

Q. Who was the General Secretary of the Party at that time? A. Earl Browder.

Q. Did Earl Browder participate in any manner? A. Yes.

Q. At those meetings? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he talk about? A. He talked about the purpose for which the convention was held, the relationships between the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States in the past, the present, and the future.

Q. Did he say anything about the matter of disaffiliation of the Party from the Communist International?

4849 Q. The question was, Mr. Crouch, did Mr. Browder say anything about disaffiliation of the Party from the Comintern? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he tell the meeting of the Politburo and the district organizers on that subject? A. Mr. Browder stated, in substance, that the passage of Federal legislation known as the Voorhees Bill, I believe, made it necessary for the Communist Party to either register as a foreign agent, which it was unwilling to do, or to vote a formal disaffiliation from the Communist International.

Q. Did he say anything about the effect this disaffiliation would have upon possible future relations with the Communist International? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he say on that subject? A. He said that the actual relations of the American Communist Party to the Communist International would remain exactly the same in the future as they had in the past, that the
4850 American Communist Party would continue to be guided by the Communist International and that because of the political development of the American Party

that the matter of formality in the relationships was no longer necessary as it had once been.

Q. I believe you stated you were district organizer at the time you attended this meeting. Did the district organizers in attendance at that meeting acquire any particular duties relating to the policies set forth by 4851 Mr. Browder? A. Mr. Browder assigned us duties in connection with that.

Q. Yes. What duties did you acquire? A. To go back to our respective districts and explain the reasons for disaffiliation to the political leadership in our respective districts.

4852 Q. I asked the names of these representatives of the Comintern and the approximate dates that each person named was in this country. A. Mr. Pepper was one in this country in 1928 and I believe very early in 1929, 1928, definitely. In the early 30's, in 1932, possibly 1933, a Russian named Mikhailovich, I believe, who is known under the name of Williams, and he was followed by a representative—I don't recall meeting him personally—who was known in the Party under the name of Edwards.

4853 Q. Did you know John Pepper, did you ever meet him? A. I first met John Pepper in Moscow at the Lux Hotel. I participated in the meetings of the executive committee of the Communist International in January, 1928 with him, had discussions with him and other officials of the Communist International together and after my return to the United States I met him at meetings of the Central Committee where he was introduced by William Z. Foster as the representative of the Communist International.

Q. Did you ever know Mikhailovich personally? A. Yes.

Q. Will you relate the circumstances under which you

knew him? A. I first met Mikhailovich in January of 1928, in the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow and met him next at Central Committee meetings where he was introduced as a representative of the Communist International at Communist Party Committee meetings, Commission meetings.

Q. Did you know him as Mikhailovich or Williams? A. I knew him in the Soviet Union as Mikhailovich and in the United States as Comrade Williams.

4854 Q. You stated that you did not meet Edwards. Would you relate what information, if any, you had concerning the presence of one Edwards in the United States? A. At Central Committee meetings and commissions of the Central Committee, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, relayed instructions that he stated were given as instructions of Comrade Edwards, a representative of the Communist International and in addition to this there was direct discussion among the district organizers regarding Comrade Edwards, Communist International representative.

Q. Did you ever know an individual during the time you were in the Communist Party, as an official, known to you as Smith? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did Smith have any other names? A. Yes, he was known among Party leaders under the name of Peterson.

Q. In what way did you know Smith? How well did you know him? A. I knew him very well over a period of some months. I worked with him daily.

4855 Q. And what was Smith's duty or duties in the Party? A. Smith's duties were two-fold—

The Witness: The time I knew Smith, also known as Peterson, was during the fall months of 1929 and January of 1930, place, 43 East 125th Street, New York City. Second Floor, National Office of the Communist Party.

What was the rest of the question?

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. What were his duties. A. His duties were to act as the representative of the Communist International and, also, to act as organizational secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

4859 Q. You referred previously to representatives from the Communist International to perform special tasks in this country. Would you name any of such representatives whom you may now recall, the dates they were in this country, and the functions they performed here? A. First, a special representative for a
4860 specific field, I recall, was Louis Gibarti and the second name I recall—

The second man was Jonas J. Peters, whom I knew from approximately 1934 until I left the Communist Party.

Q. What was Louis Gibarti's assignment or duty in the United States? A. Louis Gibarti's duties in the United States were to act as a representative for the Anti-Imperialist Commission of the Communist International, internationally headed by Willie Munzenberg, and also to set up the Workers International Relief in the United States and direct its activities and to carry out certain cultural activities, such as promotion of Soviet movies in this country.

Q. What was J. Peters' function here? A. J. Peters' function was to direct, was to organize underground apparatus of the American Communist Party and direct this and confidential field work, and, also, to aid in the organization of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Q. Did J. Peters publish any documents pertaining to the Communist Party during the time he was in this
4861 station? A. Yes, he wrote a document.

Q. Yes. What did he write? A. He wrote a document published by the Communist Party or through

the Communist Party's publishing house, Workers Library Publishers, a document called "The Communist Party Manual on Organization."

4862 Q. Did you personally do anything as an official of the Communist Party directly related to Peters' activities in this country? A. Yes, I did much related to Peters' activities and under his direction.

Q. What did you do? Incidentally, in giving the answer, will you give us the approximate dates of any action you took? I would appreciate it. A. In 1934 to 1937, inclusive, while I was a district organizer of the Communist Party of the Carolina District with headquarters at Greensboro, North Carolina, and Charlotte, North Carolina, I met regularly four or five times a year, at least, with J. Peters in New York City, receiving directions from him on the mail communications between the District and the national office, giving many of his directions to his assistants, the addresses in the district to which mail was to be sent, receiving the confidential addresses in New York to which I was to send mail, receiving from him numbered receipt books to be used to check against any loss of mail; received from him detailed explanation of the codes in use by the Party; received from him the code books to use in confidential communications with the central office.

I received from J. Peters and under his direction the setting up of an underground apparatus in the Carolina district in the 1934 to 1937 period, naming a professor at the University of North Carolina, a professor Ericson, Spartacus was his Party name, as a reserve district officer, giving him, relaying to Professor Ericson direct information to me as to how the Party confidential apparatus was to be set up and setting up the apparatus in the sections in which the Party would work as an underground organization in case of necessity.

My next contact with Peters was in Birmingham, Alabama, from March, 1938 until September of 1939, when I was chairman of the control commission of the Com-

Communist Party for that district, and together with Robert Hall, the district organizer, met with Peters on a number of occasions in New York City regarding the underground apparatus in the district and in consultation with Rob F. Hall and Joseph Gelders, who were associated with me in the underground fields of work.

We named a man, a Party member named Sam Hall, as the reserve organizer for that district who was to take over leadership in case that the Party should go underground.

Our next contact with Peters was between September, 1939, and April, 1941.

While I was living in Knoxville, Tennessee, as district organizer of the Communist Party for Knoxville, I met with Peters four or five times a year during this period, exchanging addresses for confidential correspondence, receiving code books from him, receiving directives for the underground apparatus in the State of Tennessee, and submitting to him the names of the 4864 people I had named to the underground committee, which was headed by a Professor David Robison, a white professor at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, whom I had named as the reserve district organizer with Peters' approval.

Also I received from Peters in this period instructions that if the Party should go underground, that I should make every effort to reach Mexico and contact the Communist Party there and try to avoid being picked up. I was also instructed by Peters to keep a reserve emergency fund on hand for use in underground periods and for my expenses in making a getaway.

I was also instructed by Peters that I should have a reserve hideout in the state and for this purpose I selected a farm approximately five or six miles out of Nashville, Tennessee. I don't recall the name of the owner of the farm. As I recall it, it was south or southeast of Nashville.

These were the major steps I had taken under the direction of J. Peters.

4865 Q. With respect to your contacts with J. Peters, did you ever receive any instructions pertaining to the underground organization of the Party as to the
4866 number of persons in any particular unit of the party? A. Yes.

Q. What were those instructions? A. The instructions were that for the purpose of functioning underground, the Party must be divided into units, into what he called groups or the group system, of not more than five members in each group, of whom one will be the captain of the group.

Q. During the time you were district organizer of the Communist Party, at the various places you testified you served in that capacity, did you ever personally attempt or bring about the organization of the Party in those areas in the manner specified?

The Witness. Yes. In some places, and in some places partially. By "partially" I mean that in some places instead of actually dividing the members into the groups, I instructed the section organizers how they would be divided in case the Party went underground.

By Mr. McKittrick:

4867 Q. Would you describe for the Board the manner in which the Communist Party was organized in Alameda County, California, during the time you served as district organizer there in 1941 and 1942? A. Alameda County of California, from the time I took charge as county organizer, May 1, 1941, until I handed over the position to my successor, Steve Nelson, in January, 1942, was, first, that the Party was organized in units or clubs anywhere from three to fifteen or more members. These clubs were then organized into sections with a section committee, sec-

tion organizer or section committee at the head, these sections being of three types.

The first type was by geographical area. There was an East Oakland Section, a West Oakland Section, a Berkeley Section, about four territorial sections.

The second type of section was the industrial section. One section was composed of leaders in unions, leaders in the C. I. O., leaders in the A. F. of L. unions, and the workers who were employed in certain industries. The workers who were employed in certain basic steel, shipbuilding and allied industries belonged to this industrial section.

The third was what we call a special section very distinct from the others, composed of the following units: One unit of government employees, Federal, State, County, Municipal. Secondly, important professions, attorneys,

like Mr. Frank Pestano—that is the only name that I recall from that, or that I even knew—and several other attorneys, doctors, professionals. The third were the professors at the University of California. The fourth were the employees at the radiation laboratory at the University of California and early in the fall, in the late summer or fall of 1941, a fifth unit of the special section was organized, composed of employees at the Shell Development Corporation then engaged in highly confidential work for the Government.

Q. Did you ever attend any meetings of this fourth category you just mentioned, being professors of the University of California? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Would you relate how you arrived at any meetings you may have attended and where they were held? A.

This fourth category was not confined to the University alone. The groups—there were two groups at the University, one was the Professors' branch and the other the radiation laboratory. There were these other branches that I mentioned.

I went to these various branch committee meetings from time to time accompanied by Kenneth May, a member of

the County Secretariat, who was placed in specific charge of the organizational and practical work of these units for the purpose of giving political reports on the Party line.

I was never given the addresses of the meeting places, I was taken by roundabout ways. Great effort was made by Kenneth May to prevent being followed. He would go around and around in circles and watch to see that no car was following and go twice as far as necessary to reach the meeting places, which were always held at night.

I was not introduced to the people by their real names, I only named some of the real names like Mr. Frank Pestan—

Mr. McKittrick: Where they were held.

The Witness: They were held in homes where I did not know the names of the residents and I was taken to these meeting places by the roundabout means that I have described.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Yes. Now, you have referred to codes being used at the time you were district organizer and these various assignments.

Will you describe very briefly for the Board the 4870 code system which was employed in any particular time, to the best of your ability?

The Witness: The first code in 1934 for a brief time was based on a series of squares from which letters would drop down. I don't recall the exact mechanics of it. It was quickly discarded as being the type of code which, according to Peters, could be broken down by the frequency method.

Thereafter, we used for our communications a book code system by which we would use a series of numbers. The

first number would mean the page of the book in which a word was down, the second figure would mean the 4871 line, and the third figure would mean the number of words in the line where it was used. Sometimes this method was transposed into letters to make deciphering more difficult and instructions were also given that after so many words a certain number of meaningless figures or letters should be inserted to make decoding more difficult.

One book was in the possession of the Central Committee and one book, an identical book, was in the possession of the District Organizer. When we received a message in code, we would take our book and use the same method for deciphering.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you ever receive any instructions from Peters pertaining to the method for publishing Communist Party literature during the underground period? A. Yes, I received both the instructions and I received the practical apparatus and mechanism for doing it.

Q. What instructions and what apparatus was received? A. I received these instructions from Peters regarding the publication of material, number one, that we should try to have reserved printing presses in our district, if possible, and in the Carolinas this was successful. We did have an underground print shop at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, one underground printing shop, financed largely by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

4873 Q. Mr. Crouch, after receiving these instructions, what, if anything, did you do? A. I gave Peters the funds for the purchase of the special-portable mimeographs at a rate—I don't recall the exact amount, it was less than five dollars per mimeograph, to be stored in private homes. I purchased supplies of mimeograph papers, stencils, styluses, stored them in various private homes,

and I proceeded to turn over to Mr. Alton Lawrence, a member of the District Bureau of the Communist Party and State Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, the funds that were to be spent for the purchase in his name and the name of Mr. Matthews of a printing plant at Chapel Hill, to be used by the Communist Party
4874 underground conditions.

Q. You mentioned previously instructions concerning accumulation of underground reserve funds. Did you personally ever have anything to do with any such reserve funds? A. I kept small reserve funds, not exceeding one hundred dollars, in Tennessee, and in California I took over, on my arrival there, funds of about \$1500, as nearly as I can recall, added to them while I was county organizer, and turned over a little over \$2000 in a reserve fund to my successor, Steve Nelson.

Q. Did you ever receive any instructions pertaining to communication between various underground groups from these—

4875 The Witness: The instructions received were that the reserve organizers in each district were given code words, by which they were to recognize the couriers sent out to them by the reserve central committee of the Communist Party that would operate in underground conditions, that transfers of members that were necessary should be made through this underground system but without anything in writing, that the cards, a filing card should be torn in two and a half given to the member who was being transferred to another district, the other half would be sent through the courier system to a district organizer and these would be compared as proof that he was the individual who was being transferred.

The names would be sent by the code system through the couriers to central office, and from the central office to the other district, and that in general that the policy of

correspondence under underground conditions should be reduced to an absolute minimum and that the courier system should be used for communication purposes.

4915 Q. Have you ever known a person by the name of Nicholas Dozenberg? A. Yes, sir, I once knew Nicholas Dozenberg very well.

Q. When did you first meet Nicholas Dozenberg? A. I first met Nicholas Dozenberg—when?

Q. When? A. In late September or early October, 1927.

Q. Where did you meet him? A. In what was then the national office of the Communist Party, Chicago, Ill.

4916 Q. What was Nicholas Dozenberg's position, at that time, if you know? A. Nicholas Dozenberg's position at that time was national organizational secretary of the Communist Party.

Q. Did he acquire any other duties after you first met him? A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Nicholas Dozenberg at any time after that first meeting? A. On many occasions after.

Q. Were those meetings with Nicholas Dozenberg in his official capacity as the organizational secretary of the Communist Party? A. They were for a brief time. Thereafter, in other capacities.

Q. In what other capacities did you know him after that brief time? A. As an agent in this country of the Soviet Secret Police, the GPU.

Q. About what was the date when he became an agent of the Soviet Secret Police? A. About 1928, to the best of my recollection.

Q. Did Nicholas Dozenberg's new duties have any effect which you observed upon his relationships with the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. And what effect did those duties have? A. While he continued to attend the meetings of the Central Committee

of the Communist Party, he did not speak and took a back seat at those meetings.

4927 Q. I believe, Mr. Crouch, the pending question was how you learned of Mr. Dozenberg's assignment as an agent of the Soviet secret police in the United States.

A. From Mr. Dozenberg.

Q. What did he tell you about his assignment? A. He told me he was an agent of the Soviet secret police and, therefore, could hold no public office in the Communist Party.

Q. Did you have any dealings with Mr. Dozenberg in his official capacity as a Soviet police agent? A. Yes, I did.

Q. About when and where did you have those dealings?

A. Sometime in the fall of 1928, I believe, to the best of my recollection, in an apartment, luxuriously furnished, west of Central Park, New York, an apartment to which I was taken by Mr. Dozenberg.

Q. Well, what happened at that apartment?

Mr. Abt: I am sorry. I think the witness gave us the date but he didn't mention the month.

4928 Mr. LaFollette: I have forgotten the date, too.

Mr. McKittrick: Late 1928, as I recall.

Mr. LaFollette: All right. Proceed.

The Witness: Mr. Dozenberg introduced me to a man in the apartment who spoke English brokenly, introducing him as the head of the Russian Secret Police in the United States and I was introduced to him as a national official of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Then this official, this man who was introduced by Mr. Dozenberg to me as the head of the Secret Police proceeded to ask a number of questions primarily about the employment of Communists in Washington, in the State Department, asking if any members of the Young Communist League had jobs in the State Department where it might be possible for them to secretly obtain possession

of blank passports which he stated were needed very much by the Soviet Government and I replied there were no such members and he directed me if it were possible to try to get such members employed with the State Department and they would be very very important if the Soviet Government could obtain American blank passports.

4943 Q. Was any flag of any country or any kind ever displayed at any national conventions of the Communist Party? A. The flag of the Soviet Union was displayed at conventions of the Communist Party. I am unable to recall at this moment any convention where it was not so displayed.

Q. Well, was the American flag ever displayed at any of the national conventions of the Communist Party, to your knowledge? A. To my best recollection it was displayed in 1938 and 1940.

Q. Did you ever have any personal connection with the display of the American flag in connection with Communist Party activities? A. Yes.

4944 Q. At what time and place did you have some connection with the displaying of the American flag?

A. On the fourth day of July, 1934 in the town of Helper, Utah, I authorized the flying of American flags in a parade of the National Miners Union, of which I was state organizer at the same time I was state organizer of the Communist Party.

4945 Q. Was there any discussion of any Communist Party official concerning your use of this American flag on that occasion? A. Yes, by officials.

Q. What was the content? A. Prior to the display of it, there was considerable discussion and argument in the state leadership, some of the members objecting. I took the responsibility for ordering its display and after the parade my action was questioned—the wisdom of my

action was questioned by two members of the Central Committee in New York and at the same time more serious reactions to my part were under discussion and they questioned the advisability and desirability of my authorizing it, saying that I should have found some way to have persuaded the workers that the use of the American flag was not necessary.

4953 Q. Did you ever discuss the subject of communist allegiance with any leader of the Communist Party at any time you were an official of the Communist Party?
A. Yes, I have.

Q. Will you name the time and place and the person involved in such discussion or discussions? A. I have had many discussions with several Party leaders, the most outstanding that I recall was with Robert Minor in connection with a discussion of the Spanish Civil War in which he said that, in which he told me that the basis for determining all policy must be in the interests of the Soviet Union, that that always comes first, to which everything else must be secondary, and that the sole allegiance

4954 of all Communists throughout the world is to the Soviet Union. He also, at about the same time—

Mr. Abt: I don't think we have a time and place.

The Witness: The time was during the Spanish Civil War when Mr. Robert Minor had returned, who was the American representative in Spain, had returned to this country, was making a report at a Central Committee meeting. It was sometime in early 1937 to my best recollection, either late 1936 or early 1937 and I am quite sure it was early 1937. The exact date could probably be ascertained from the Daily Worker.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you ever discuss this matter or hear it discussed by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party? A. I have heard Earl Browder speak about the

question of allegiance, pointing out on many occasions—I don't recall the specific dates or what was said at the specific place, exactly the words, other than in 1938 when he was discussing a possible war between America and the Soviet Union. I didn't notice the exact words, but he was asked, "Is it possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to be allied together in a war against a common enemy, such as Japan or Germany, to fight side by side,"

and to this Browder stated, "It is possible that war 4955 might begin with the United States and the Soviet Union fighting side by side, together as allies, but the war would inevitably end in a war between the Communists and the non-Communist worlds, in which the task of the Soviet Union, in which the task of the Soviet Party must be to work for the victory of the Soviet Union and World Communism.

Q. I believe you gave us the time of that discussion. Did you give us the place? A. The time was late May, 1938, in New York City, and it was in one of the halls rented in the course of a convention, the National Convention of the Communist Party, the convention in which Earl Browder made his Democratic Front speech.

Q. On the basis of the Communist literature to which you have referred and on the basis of the discussions you have just mentioned, what did you teach as to the allegiance of Communists to the Party schools in which you participated following the dates of these discussions? A. I taught the students at the schools that the working class has but one allegiance to the Fatherland and the workers of all countries, the Soviet Union.

4969 Q. Mr. Crouch, I will restate the question: Based on your duties, experience, and training in the Communist Party, would you state to the Board the official attitude of the Communist Party toward the United States Government in the year 1934? A. The attitude of the Com-

munist Party in 1934 toward the American government was that the American government is a capitalist government opposed to the interests of the workers and the people, that no allegiance is owed by the people to this government as a capitalist government, and that it must be destroyed in order to provide freedom for the people of this country.

Q. You testified that you instructed at a Communist Party youth training school in 1929. On that occasion did you teach anything pertaining to the Communist Party's official attitude toward the United States government? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach on that occasion? A. I 4970 taught that the American government is a capitalist government, an enemy government to which the workers owe no allegiance, and that it had to be overthrown by revolution in order to make possible the progress of the country to socialism and communism.

Q. You have testified that you taught at a six-week training school in New Orleans in the winter of 1936. On that occasion did you teach anything pertaining to the Communist Party's official attitude toward the United States Government? A. Yes.

4971 Q. On that occasion what did you teach? A. I taught in 1936 that the American government is an enemy government that ultimately must be overthrown to make possible a socialist, a communist society, and that to carry out this overthrow it was necessary to make alliances with the allies, the working class, the poorer farmers, what we called the oppressed Negro people, and to establish a united front.

Q. On that occasion did you teach your students anything concerning the United States Government as a factor for keeping peace or creating war.

Q. On that occasion did you teach anything concerning the United States Government as a factor for keeping the peace or for creating war? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach? A. I taught that the United States was a factor, a major factor, in plotting war against the Soviet Union, although I taught that the German Government was the major threat, that the United States Government also was engaged in plots against world peace and that the United States was trying to organize a world-wide front against the Soviet Union.

Q. You have testified that you conducted week-end schools in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1936 and in 1939. Were those week-end schools held continuously during that period? A. Almost continuously. There were intervals between.

Q. During the time you were teaching at these week-end schools did you teach anything pertaining to the Communist Party's official attitude toward the United States Government? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach? A. I taught that the American government was an enemy government which ultimately must be overthrown, but that we should not go around advertising this under the existing political and international conditions, that it was necessary to publicly take a somewhat different attitude to the government from what we had taken in the past to make alliances with liberals and progressives, at the same time within our party ranks never losing sight of our revolutionary objectives.

Q. On that occasion did you teach anything pertaining to the United States Government as a factor for keeping the peace or for making war? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach? A. I taught that the United States might well be a major factor for world peace if an alliance could be obtained between the United States and

the Soviet Union, and particularly after President Roosevelt's aggressor speech we taught that there was a real possibility of an American-Soviet alliance during the existing period, during the period in which the Soviet Union felt itself threatened by Germany.

Q. You have testified that you instructed in a Communist Party school outside Oakland, California, in 1941: On that occasion did you teach anything pertaining to the Communist Party's attitude toward the United States Government? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach? A. I taught that the American Government was an imperialistic government seeking to plunge this country into an imperialist war and must be opposed by the Communist Party and its allies and those it could influence by all conceivable active means.

Mr. LaFollette: Let me ask you, what part of 1941 did you teach?

The Witness: In May and early June, prior to June 22.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. You have stated that you have instructed at a Communist Party school in the fall of 1941 in Oakland, California. On that occasion did you teach anything pertaining to the Communist Party's attitude toward the United States Government? A. Yes.

Q. What did you teach? A. I taught that the Communists must publicly abstain from denunciation of the President or the Government, must support all measures taken by the Government towards military defense and call for stronger steps, must support the Government's program for aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union and call for greater and more effective aid.

Q. What was the occasion, if any, for the change in your teaching between the instructions you gave in May and June of 1941 and the fall of 1941? A. On June 22, 1941,

Hitler made a sudden, surprise invasion of the Soviet Union.

4975 The Witness: Following this invasion a district committee meeting was held at 121 Haight Street in San Francisco, at which William S. Foster, William Schneiderman, and Steve Nelson, gave political reports on a meeting of the Central Committee and on the task
4976 of the Party and directed those present of the line which should be followed, and the line they directed was the line I taught at the November school.

By Mr. McKittrick:—

Q. Mr. Crouch, I will show you a volume purporting to be "The United Front," by Georgi Dimitroff, purportedly published by International Publishers, New York City, 1938. I will ask you if you have seen this book before? A. I have.

Q. Have you ever read this book? A. I have.

Q. When did you read it? A. After its publication in 1938.

Q. Have you seen it recently, before you saw it this morning? A. Yes. I saw it last week.

Q. How did you acquire this book originally? A. Originally a copy was sent to me on its publication as a party editor by the publishers.

Q. What was your position in the Party at that time? A. I was editor of the New South, official organ of the Communist Party for the southern states, member of the District Bureau of the Communist Party for Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, Chairman of the Control Commission of the Communist Party for that district,
4977 and an instructor in Party schools.

Q. Did you ever use this book in carrying out any of your official duties in the Party? A. Yes.

Q. In what manner did you use it? A. I used it as assigned reading and for preparing my lectures and teachings in a course in Party history in 1939.

Q. Is that the same school you referred to at Birmingham, Alabama? A. It is one of the schools.

Q. You say you have read this particular volume last week. Have you compared its contents with the original volume you read in 1938, or do you have the original volume? A. I don't have the original volume.

Q. Do you recall its contents? A. Generally, yes.

Q. Would you say this was the same or different from the contents of the original volume? A. This is the same.

Q. How was the book distributed when it was originally published, if you know? A. This book was distributed by being advertised in the Party Press, being displayed in the

Party bookstores and sold through the Party's literature apparatus, that is, the books were handed down from the district to the section literature agent and the unit literature agents for sale at the Party meetings and sold at the Party school where I taught students.

5006 Q. Did you receive any instructions from any member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party based on the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact? A. I received a number of specific political and organizational instructions.

Q. From whom did you receive those instructions? A. I received instructions from Jack Stachel, from J. Peters. The most of them I got from J. Peters.

Q. What year approximately did you receive these instructions? A. During the latter part of 1939 and also in 1940.

Q. Will you tell the Board what instructions you received? A. I received instructions to tighten the underground apparatus of the Party, also to keep funds on hand to proceed to the hide out place arranged for the district organizer and for escape to Mexico if possible in the event of the Party's suddenly going underground, and to

5007 see that the devices for producing leaflets, the hand mimeographs were stored in safe places, to increase the reserve supply of ink, stencils, and paper, and also—

The Witness: And also to have organization meetings of the Communist Party conducted with greater secrecy, to divide large branches and to have the group system ready to function.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you receive any instruction pertaining to
5008 your future communications with the Central Committee? A. I did.

Q. What were those instructions? A. To reduce all correspondence by mail to an absolute minimum, to give my political reports verbally to Rob F. Hall, who was designated as the coordinating man for the Central Committee for all the southern districts, with orders to travel throughout the south, and that I would receive my instructions from the Central Committee between central committee meetings from Rob Hall personally acting as courier instead of by mail as previously, and that I would not thereafter receive any copies of the Politburo minutes.

5013 Q. What were the two major strikes of which you had some knowledge? A. The two major strikes were the East Bay machinists strike in May and June 1941, and the other was the North American Aviation strike at Inglewood, California, in May and June 1941.

Q. What was the labor union that conducted that strike, if you know? A. Which strike?

Q. I beg your pardon. The North American Aviation strike. A. The North American Aviation strike was conducted by the Aircraft Division of the United Auto Workers of America.

Q. At any meetings of the district bureau which you attended did you ever discuss that strike?

5014 Q. You discussed the strike before it became a strike? Did you discuss the desirability of the strike before it occurred? A. Yes.

Q. How did you happen to discuss this strike? Under what circumstances was the strike discussed in the district bureau meetings you attended? A. Read the question back, please.

Q. Rather than that, I will withdraw the question and substitute this question:

Under what circumstances did you hold discussions of the pending strike of the United Auto Workers at the North American Aviation Company's factories? A. We
5015 discussed it on the basis of the report given by Walter Lambert, trade union director, on the situation existing there and the possibilities of a strike.

Mr. LaFollette: Will you spell that name?

The Witness: W-a-l-t-e-r L-a-m-b-e-r-t.

Mr. LaFollette: All right. Who was Walter Lambert?

The Witness: A member of the district bureau of California and the district trade union director of the Communist Party of California.

Mr. LaFollette: All right.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Who was the head of the labor union, the United Auto Workers Union, involved in that strike? A. The head of the union so far as the field is concerned and directors of the strike was W-y-n-d-h-a-m Mortimer, I believe is the correct spelling. Mortimer, M-o-r-t-i-m-e-r, International representative.

Q. Was Mortimer in any way associated with the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What was his association with the Party? A. Member.

5031 Q. At the meetings of the district bureau which you attended and at which you have stated the subject of the strike of the North American Aviation Company was discussed, did the district bureau formulate any plans or formulate any demands, economic demands, for the labor union against the company?

Do you understand the question, Mr. Witness? A. I understand the question. The district bureau approved in part and modified in part and made an over-all program of economic demands to be made to the company by the union.

If you will permit me, I would like to make it clear for the record that not all of these demands originated in the bureau. Many of these demands were brought to the bureau as proposals by Walter Lambert following his conferences with the party leaders in Southern California as their recommendations, which we discussed.

5032 Q. During the course of the strike in May and June of 1941 did the district bureau at meetings you attended discuss the strike? A. Discussed it at every meeting while it was in progress.

Q. What was the gist of the discussions concerning the strike at those meetings during the course of the strike? A. The gist of the discussions was how to prolong and intensify the strike, and following the calling out of National Guards or the sending in of regular troops, sending in of some military forces to the strike area, we discussed the question of how far we should go in clashes with the American armed forces and decided against the advisability of any large-scale forceful clash at that time.

Q. About when did the strike terminate? A. It terminated, as nearly as I can recall, about a week or ten days after the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22.

Q. The invasion of the Soviet Union by— A. By Hitler.

Q. Did the district bureau at any meetings you attended discuss the termination of the strike following the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler? A. Yes. At the first

meeting of the district bureau following that invasion
 5033 we gave orders to district bureau member and trade union director Walter Lambert to proceed immediately to Inglewood and, in the language of the bureau, liquidate the strike, to bring it to an immediate end.

Q. What was the purpose of the Communist Party, if you know, in attempting to bring about the termination of the North American Aviation strike? A. The purpose of bringing about the termination of the North American Aviation strike was to get production under way at once of military planes for Great Britain and the Soviet Union, planes for the United States armed forces.

Q. While you were an official of the Communist Party did you ever know any person by the name of Eugene Dennis? A. Yes, I knew Eugene Dennis very well over many years.

Q. Is that the same Eugene Dennis who has very recently been national secretary of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What positions, if any, did Eugene Dennis hold in the Communist Party during the time you were an official in that party? A. He was district organizer of the Milwaukee district, member of the central committee—

Mr. LaFollette: Can you give us the years as you go along?

The Witness: He was district organizer in the mid-thirties in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and shortly there-
 5034 after in the period around 1936-37, that is the approximate period, I don't recall the exact period, was legislative secretary for the central committee assigned to work in Washington, D. C., on legislative matters and to work with the Federal Government units of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Central Committee throughout from the early thirties until I left the Communist Party.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. While you were an official of the Communist Party did you ever know any one by the name of Gilbert L. Parks?

A. I knew Gilbert L. Parks well from about 1935 to 1939.

Q. Did you have any dealings with Gilbert L. Parks in 1937? A. Yes.

Q. What dealings did you have with him during that year? A. I had both personal and political dealings with Mr. Parks during 1937. He served on the district bureau of the Communist Party for the Carolina district, was in charge of organization in South Carolina for the Communist Party, and when it was necessary in the fall of 1937 for me to take a physical rest, provided me with a cottage free of charge on his large farm at Cat Island, South Carolina, and while I was at Cat Island my wife and I belonged to the same unit with Gilbert Parks and his wife and 5035 two other members. Also during that period he attended a conference of the Communist Party at Chattanooga, Tennessee, with Earl Browder as the chief representative from the Central Committee, and upon his return reported to the unit meeting on the proceedings of that conference. Then I had further dealings with him the next year, but this covers the major events of 1937.

Q. What was the nature of Gilbert L. Parks' report on the meeting he attended about which you have just testified? A. His report was that Earl Browder and the conference of southern party leaders at Chattanooga had worked out on the basis of central committee decisions a new line for the Party that no longer were they the revolutionary slogans to be advanced so openly, that the Party was to try to get on the New Deal bandwagon, that they were to make friends with liberals and progressives and try to draw them into fronts, that the American flag was to be displayed at Party gatherings, and in general that the revolutionary language for the duration should be played down because of the need of a collective security program, of drawing America into collective security as an ally of the

Soviet Union against Hitler, and for this reason it was necessary to try to win the good will of the Administration.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Browder's report discussed by any other official of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

5036 Q. By whom? A. By Rob Hall and Joseph S. Gelders, upon my arrival at Birmingham in March of 1938.

Q. After learning of this report from Parks, Hall, and Gelders, did you do anything as a party official on the basis of this report? A. I did.

Q. What did you do? A. One of the first things I did was to pull from the masthead of the official Communist organ for the South the line "published by the Communist Party" and substituted for it "published by the New South Publishing Company." I changed the editorial policies of the New South to conform to this new line, playing up President Roosevelt and every speech he made. I also took part in planning the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at Birmingham, Alabama, which matured in November of that year. I visited the university professors to put over this Party line, to involve them in carrying out of this line and bring them into party front activities.

Mr. LaFollette: What university?

The Witness: The University of Alabama was one example. I visited Professor Thomas in the Department of History at the University of Alabama, and several other professors I can not recall. I had long discussions with them in an effort to convince them that it was necessary for the United States to establish a collective security line with the Soviet Union.

5037

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. While you were an official of the Communist Party, Mr. Crouch, did you obtain any information concerning the so-called treason trials conducted in the Soviet Union in or about the year 1937?

5038 The Witness: Yes; between the years of 1936 and '38.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. How did you acquire your information on this subject? A. From the Soviet published transcript of the proceedings of those trials distributed through the United States by the Communist Party on district levels, section levels and down through all the branches, where I had to study these documents and had to teach the Soviet Version of these documents to the entire membership of the Party or see that it was done.

Mr. LaFollette: In what language were they published? The Witness: These were published in English, the first editions being marked by the State Publishing House, Moscow, and later once being published in New York without any identification as to where they were printed.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you ever receive any instructions from any member of the Central Committee concerning what you should do as a Communist official in relation to those trials? A.

Yes, I received many instructions from several committees of the Communist Party with regard to what I should do.

5039 Q. Would you tell the Board the name of any particular official who gave you instructions? A. Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, William Weiner were three of several who gave me such instructions.

Q. What instructions did you receive? A. I received instructions to distribute the Soviet-edited transcript of the proceedings throughout the Party, to organize discussions or have discussions organized in every branch of the Party, to picture the dozen or more Soviet Communist or former Communist officials as traitors, agents of the bourgeoisie, Nazi spies, and other such terms to the membership of the Party; and also I was instructed to try to get any trade

unions or mass organizations under Party influence to pass resolutions endorsing the conviction of these individuals by the Moscow courts.

5041 Q. While you were an official of the Communist Party did you ever know any person by the name of John B. Williamson? A. I knew John B. Williamson well from the fall of 1927 until I left the Communist Party.

Q. Is that the same John B. Williamson now an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What positions, if any, did John B. Williamson hold in the Communist Party during the time that you knew him?

A. From the fall of 1927 until the spring of, until May of 1929, he was a fellow member with me of the district bureau of the Young Communist League, and national trade union director of the Young Communist League. He was a fellow delegate with me at Conventions of the Communist Party in 1929, 1934, and several subsequent conventions. I don't recall the exact dates of the others. He was a member of the Central Committee during most of my membership in the Communist Party from the early thirties on until I left the Party. He was district organizer of the Communist Party for Ohio during most of my latter membership in the Communist Party.

5115 Q. Mr. Crouch, I will hand you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 31, and ask you if you have ever seen a similar document before? A. Yes, I have seen both this document and many earlier printings and editions of the same document, since I was 12—11 years of age.

Q. Did you make any use of that document during the time you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes, throughout the period.

Q. What use of it did you make? A. I used it as a textbook in Party schools I taught. I had it sold. I organized the sale of it through the Party literature apparatus. I used

Party funds to purchase it and distribute it free to prospective recruits for the Communist Party, and in every way possible promoted its sale and distribution.

5116 Q. I will show you, Mr. Crouch, Petitioner's Exhibit No. 121, being "Foundation of Leninism," by Josef Stalin, and ask you if you have ever seen a similar volume or similar book before? A. I have seen both this volume, identical in appearance and contents with this, a duplicate of this; and also earlier editions, in different formats, of the same book.

Q. Did you ever read the book while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. I did.

Q. Did you make any use of the book, apart from reading it, while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What use did you make of that book? A. I used it as a textbook in Party schools. I organized its sale and distribution in every possible manner through the Party apparatus.

5117 Q. You say you have promoted its sale. When and where, approximately, did you carry on that activity with respect to this Exhibit 121? A. This particular edition, from the time of its publication, around 1939, until I left the Communist Party; and earlier editions in previous years while I was in the Party. I don't recall the exact years.

Q. I will show you, Mr. Crouch, Petitioner's Exhibit No. 125, being the "Program of the Communist International," and ask you if you have ever seen a similar document before? A. What is the question?

Q. Have you ever seen a similar document before? A. I have.

Q. Did you ever read that document while you were a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. Many uses.

Q. What use did you make of it while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Textbook, as a guide to my own Party work and the line I should follow in my Communist activities, in teaching to students, assigning it to them as reading material, and organized the sale and distribution of it through the Party.

Q. I will show you, Mr. Crouch, Petitioner's Exhibit No. 138, being "Problems of Leninism," by Josef Stalin, and ask you if you have ever seen a similar document before? A. I have.

Q. Did you ever read this book while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I read it and reread it many times.

Q. Did you make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. I did.

Q. What use did you make of it? A. I taught from it, assigned it as reading material to students, organized its sale and distribution in the Communist Party, and displayed it for sale in book stores under my jurisdiction.

Q. Would you name one specific book store in 5119 which it was displayed? A. The Communist Party book stores at Berkeley, California, just off the Campus, and a book store operated in connection with the Party Headquarters on Broadway, Oakland, I believe it was 10th and Broadway.

Q. I will show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 139, entitled "State and Revolution," by V. I. Lenin, and ask you if you have ever seen a similar document before? A. I have seen a document with the same contents in several paper-bound editions. I don't recall seeing it in this particular binding.

Q. I am referring primarily to the contents, of course. You say you have seen that document in a different form? A. Yes.

Q. Is that your testimony? A. Yes, since 1925 or '26.

Q. Did you ever read this book while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I read and reread it a number of times.

Q. Did you make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. Yes.

Q. What use did you make of it? A. I taught from it in Communist Party schools; I organized its sale and distribution. I used Communist Party funds to purchase copies of it for prospective recruits for the Party. I promoted its sale and circulation in every possible way while I was a Party member.

Q. Mr. Crouch, I will show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 140, being "Imperialism, the Highest Form of Capitalism," by V. I. Lenin, and ask if you have ever seen a similar document before? A. I have.

Q. Did you ever read that book while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. Did you make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. Yes.

Q. What use did you make of it? A. I organized and promoted the sale of this through Party book stores and the Party literature apparatus, especially in Alameda County, California, and I used it as a textbook in connection with my lectures on the subject of imperialism before the Communist Party training school in November, 1941, at the Finnish Hall, Berkeley, California.

Q. I show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 142, being a book entitled, "Why Communism?" by M. J. Olgin, and ask if you have ever seen a similar volume before?

5121) The Witness: I have seen this in several English language editions and have read it. I have read it in a Spanish language edition. I have seen an Italian language edition of it. I saw part of it in manuscript before its publication. It was shown to me by the author.

By Mr. McKittrick:

Q. Did you make any use of it while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. I did.

Q. What use did you make of that? A. I used this for educational classes in Party units, purchasing and distributing copies of it for recruits to the Party. I used it in Communist Party schools as a textbook, the first time that I can recall being in the winter of 1936, and the last time that I recall being in May-June of 1941. I have used this as a guide in preparing political reports to the Party, in preparing my lectures at public meetings on the subject of Communism, and I have organized its sale and distribution in every possible way through the Party.

Q. I show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 144, being a book entitled "The Communist Party in Action," by Alex Bittelman, and ask if you have ever seen a similar volume 5122 before? A. I have.

Q. Did you ever read that book while you were an official of the Communist Party? A. Yes, several times.

Q. Did you make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. Yes.

Q. What use did you make of it? A. I used this for sale and distribution at Norfolk, Virginia, to the Communist Party and the International Workers Order. I conducted classes in it for members of the Party at Norfolk, Virginia. I used this in Utah in 1933 for Party educational material, guidance for the members; and after organizing a new section of the Party in Carbon County, Utah, in 1933 and 1934, early 1934, I used this for new members' classes and assigned reading for the newer groups in the Party; and organized its sale and distribution generally through the Party.

Q. I will show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 145, being a book entitled, "The Communist Party, A Manual of Organization," and ask if you have ever seen a similar volume before? A. Yes, I have.

Q. Did you ever read that book while you were an
5123 official of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. Did you make any use of it in addition to reading it? A. Yes.

Q. What use did you make of it? A. I used it for distribution through the Party's literature apparatus to the officers and members of the Communist Party. I used it in Party schools. I used it as a general guide to my own organizational activities as an official of the Communist Party.

5133 Cross Examination

5144 Q. Yes. You wrote a letter to the United States Senate Committee which was investigating immigration and naturalization on September 23, 1949, did you not?
A. I did.

5145 Q. In that letter you attached a list which was prepared by you purporting to be a list of Communist International and OGPU agents in the United States, did you not? A. At least part of them, yes.

Q. Well, let's see. Did you write this letter, Mr. Crouch?

"Miami Daily News, Miami, Florida, September 23, 1949.

"Subcommittee to Investigate Immigration and Naturalization, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

"Gentlemen: I am enclosing Section 2 of the list of Communists I have known during the years I was a member of the Party. This section, including 118 names, is of important national and district officials and leaders of the Communist Party. Most of them are avowed Communists or have been publicly identified with the Party. Only those I personally know as Communists are included. Such leaders as Thompson of New York and Hall of Ohio are not included because I did not personally know them. I have not included anyone who has to my knowledge broken with the Party, but it is probable that some of them have left the Party without public announcement or without publicity having come to my attention. It has been reported re-

cently that Max Bedacht and James W. Ford have
5146 been exiled but I have no definite confirmation, so
their names remain on the list. (Some may now be
out of the country.)

"A short list of former Communist International and
OGPU agents also is enclosed.

"Respectfully yours, Paul Crouch."

Did you write that letter to the Senate Committee? A.
It sounds like it. To my best recollection, I did.

5147 Q. Let me show it to you so there will be no ques-
tion whether or not you wrote it. I now show you
page 159 of the hearings before the subcommittee on Im-
migration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Ju-
diciary, United States Senate, 81st Congress, First Session,
on S. 1832, A bill to amend the Immigration Act of October
16, 1918, as amended, dated May 10, 11, 12, 13, 16; June 1,
8, 9, 15; July 15, 16, 27, 28; August 10, 11, 12, 1949. And I
call your attention to the middle of page 150 and I
5148 ask you if this is the letter that you wrote on the
date of September 23, 1949, to the Senate Commit-
tee. A. It certainly is.

Q. Is that the letter? A. Yes, it is.

Q. And underneath that letter, underneath your name,
there is a list "Communist International and OGPU agents
in the United States." A. Yes.

Q. And underneath that heading follows the name Louis
Gibarti. A. Correct.

5150 Q. Did you include Peters' name in the list of CI
and OGPU representatives that you furnished the
Senate Committee? A. I don't recall, but I don't believe
that he fell in the classification of secret agents, but he also
fell into another classification. I don't recall which classi-
fication I placed him in. I think I probably placed him in
one of the two classifications. I don't recall now. I would
have to examine the document.

Q. Did you put him in the classification of Communist International and OGPU agents in the United States? A. I do not believe I did. I am not certain.

Q. I will show you the list, Mr. Witness, that you submitted. First I will call your attention to page 159 and ask you if under the list "Communist International and OGPU agents in the United States," the name of Peters appears there and if you submitted that name in that list as agents. I am not asking you about the next page. The next page does not deal with this list. Am I correct, Mr. Witness? A. Correct.

Q. Yes. A. Under that I did not place his name under that particular heading as shown in this printed copy.

Q. You did not. Gibarti was not as active and as prominent as you say Mr. Peters was, was he? A.

From the public point of view, by no means, and in the general membership of the Party by no means.

Q. Yes, but you listed Gibarti in that list, did you not?

A. Yes. He fell in a different classification from Mr. Peters.

Q. You did not list Mr. Peters. You say you might have listed him in the other list, in some other list? A. I may have. I don't recall.

Q. Let's see if you list him in the other category, "Important National and District Leaders of the Communist Party." I show you page 160 of the same hearing, and you will find on this page a list with the heading, "Important National and District Leaders of the Communist Party." Is that the list that you submitted, Mr. Witness? A. It is.

Q. I now ask you to look at that list and show me if you find the name of Peters. A. Reading it over, I don't.

Q. You testified about Peters, did you not, on May 16, 1949, in a hearing before the Senate Subcommittee? A. I don't recall. I probably did, but I do not recall.

Q. You had a prepared statement before that subcommittee that you read. Do you recall reading the prepared statement? A. Yes, I recall reading a pre-

pared statement and answering questions in addition.

Q. And your testimony on Peters was contained in the same statement that you read, was it not? A. I do not recall. If I might refresh my recollection by reading the transcript, I can answer your question. I can't answer from memory.

Q. Yes. I will show you your own testimony, Mr. Witness, On page 134, commencing here (indicating), "Mr. Crouch," and read on. Will you read that for the record and see if that refreshes your recollection as to what you said about Mr. Peters? A. "Mr. Crouch: Because he was for years the head of the Communist Party's underground apparatus in this country, the man who gave instructions to me on how to set up illegal apparatus and maintain it in readiness for going underground at any time was J. Peters."

Q. Now, Mr. Witness, right at that point, will you show us there where you identified him as a representative of the Communist International? A. I was not using those words in the testimony as given. I said he was the head of the Communist Party's underground apparatus, which I think was quite clear to the committee. I was speaking to men who are not amateurs in such matters and who don't have to be addressed in ABC language.

5161 Q. You testified specifically on May 6, 1949, with respect to Peters before the House un-American Activities, did you not? A. I testified in a period from about May 3 to May 8, I believe, daily, before the House Committee and I do not recall—I have a general recollection that the subject of Peters came up at different times, but I don't recall what dates. I also testified on several days around May 26, before and after May 26, and I don't recall, his name probably came up there, but I don't recall specifically.

5162 Q. To help refresh your recollection I now show
 you the testimony of Paul Crouch, hearings before
 the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Rep-
 resentatives, 81st Congress, May 6, 1949. I call your at-
 tention to page 206. You were asked the question about
 Peters. Mr. Mandel examined you, isn't it true, with re-
 spect to Peters, now that you look at it? A. It is
 5163 obvious that these particular questions were asked
 by Mr. Mandel. The record so shows.

5172 Q. Did you at any time in your testimony on May
 6 before the Un-American Activities Committee re-
 5173 fer to Mr. Peters as a CI representative? A. I don't
 know.

Q. You have that testimony before you, have you not, Mr.
 Witness? A. I have.

Q. Examine it and show us where at any time you re-
 ferred to Mr. Peters as a CI representative, anywhere in
 that testimony from the very first page to the very last. A.
 On page 219 it makes it clear. The last paragraph, page
 219, states that this is not the complete testimony I gave on
 that date. So I don't know whether it may be in the testi-
 mony that is not included in that I gave on that. I don't
 know.

5174 Q. You have the testimony before you. A. I have
 before me pages 181 to 219 inclusive.

Q. From pages 181 to 219, inclusive, did you ever refer
 to Peters as a CI international representative? A. I don't
 know.

5211 Q. So, Mr. Witness, at this time you do not remem-
 ber a single occasion in all of the times that you have
 testified prior to your conference with Mr. Lenvin in which
 you mentioned Mr. Peters as a CI representative?